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TITO-STALIN: 30 YEARS LATER
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ANNCR:

THIRTY YEARS AGO -- ON JUNE TWENTY-EIGHTH, NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT -- THE SOVIET UNION BROKE WITH TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA. THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BREAK COINCIDES WITH THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS THAT MET IN BELGRADE LAST WEEK, PRESIDED OVER BY JOSIP BROZ TITO, NOW EIGHTY-SIX YEARS OLD. HERE IS ----- WITH A BACKGROUND REPORT PREPARED BY THE VOA'S LARRY FREUND -- TITO-STALIN :THIRTY YEARS LATER:

NARR:

THE THREE THOUSAND WORD STATEMENT APPEARED ON JUNE TWENTY-EIGHTH...THREE THOUSAND WORDS DENOUNCING THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY UNDER TITO AND EXPELLING YUGOSLAVIA FROM THE COMINFORM, THE SOVIET-DOMINATED "COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU" THAT BROUGHT UNDER ONE ROOF PARTY REPRESENTATIVES FROM NINE EAST AND WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THE PROCLAMATION ACCUSED TITO OF RETREATING FROM MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES AND INSPIRING WHAT WAS CALLED A "HATEFUL" POLICY AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION UNDER JOSEF STALIN. THE COMINFORM STATEMENT URGED YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS TO OUST MARSHAL TITO.

THE WIDENING RIFT BETWEEN TITO AND STALIN HAD BECOME A FORMAL BREAK, AS YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS REJECTED SOVIET MANEUVERS TO EXERT CONTROL OVER YUGOSLAV AFFAIRS. VOA CORRESPONDENT RON PEMSTEIN REPORTED FROM THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS IN BELGRADE LAST WEEK THAT PARTY OFFICIALS THERE SAID IT WAS MERELY A COINCIDENCE THAT THE GATHERING WAS HELD ON THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMINFORM STATEMENT:

TAPE: CUT ONE -- PEMSTEIN

"THEY SAID IT WOULD NOT BE MARKED IN ANY SPECIAL FORM. BUT A PARTY OFFICIAL -- ASKING NOT TO BE IDENTIFIED -- SAID, NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT STARTED A WHEEL OF HISTORY THAT CANNOT BE STOPPED. IF ANYBODY TRIES TO RESTORE WHAT WAS, HE SAID, THERE WOULD BE RESISTANCE. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE RESISTANCE?

THERE IS A SMALL GROUP OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS WHO WANT THE COUNTRY TO ALIGN ITSELF WITH MOSCOW. THE YUGOSLAVS CALL THEM COMINFORMISTS- 'THESE TRAITORS EMERGE FROM TIME TO TIME,' THE OFFICIAL SAID, 'SOMETIMES WITH SUPPORT FROM ABROAD.'

A NUMBER OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, ESPECIALLY THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, SENT MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS PRAISING YUGOSLAVIA FOR SHOWING THE WAY TOWARD INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIET DOMINATION. THE OFFICIAL LAUGHED, SAYING 'THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS WERE AMONG THOSE WHO ATTACKED YUGOSLAVIA (IN NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT) FOR BREAKING AWAY FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THEY WERE JUST THE FIRST TO REALIZE THEY MADE A MISTAKE,' HE SAID.

THE YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL ALLOWED THAT THE TITO-STALIN BREAK MIGHT HAVE SOME RELEVANCE FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. 'BECAUSE WE WERE AGAINST STALIN,' HE SAID, 'NOW WE HAVE OUR OWN TRENDS, OUR OWN WAYS AND WE ARE PREPARED TO DEFEND THEM. IT'S REASONABLE THAT THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS WANT TO FIND A WAY OUT TOO.'

FROM THE SPEECHES THAT ONE COULD HEAR AT THE YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS, THERE WERE NO REFERENCES TO JUNE TWENTY-EIGHT, NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT. BUT THE REPEATED STATEMENTS ABOUT YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE AND THE DEFENCE OF IT SEEMED ANNIVERSARY ENOUGH."

NARR:

THE BREAK BETWEEN TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA AND STALIN OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS A BENCHMARK IN THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF WORLD AFFAIRS. ONE OF THE EARLIEST ANALYSTS OF THE EVENT, PROFESSOR ADAM ULAM (YEW-LAM) OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, RECALLS NOW HIS CONCLUSION DURING THE NINETEEN FIFTIES THAT WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN YUGOSLAVIA IN NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT WOULD OCCUR ELSEWHERE. ANOTHER SOVIET AFFAIRS EXPERT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PROFESSOR ALVIN RUBINSTEIN, ALSO POINTS OUT THAT WHAT HE CALLS "THE YUGOSLAV EXCOMMUNICATION" MARKED THE BEGINNING OF NATIONAL COMMUNISM.

TAPE: CUT TWO -- RUBINSTEIN

"THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT A COMMUNIST COUNTRY SET OUT TO SURVIVE AND SHOW THAT IT COULD REMAIN INDEPENDENT WITHOUT THE EMBRACE AND SUPPORT AND RELIANCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. AND THIS HAS HAD A CONSIDERABLE EFFECT UPON THE EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE YUGOSLAV-SOVIET BREAK, FOLLOWED UP A DECADE LATER BY THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT, WAS THE SIGN THAT THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WAS SOMETHING THAT COULD NO LONGER BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. THE SOVIET BLOC WAS NOT A MONOLITHIC INSTITUTION CONTROLLED FROM MOSCOW. FROM THE YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW, IT LED THEM TO LOOK FOR POLICY OPTIONS WHICH TURNED THEM TOWARD NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE THIRD WORLD."

NARR:

YUGOSLAVIA'S RE-DIRECTED POLICIES, OBSERVES PROFESSOR RUBINSTEIN, HAVE HAD A CONSIDERABLE IMPACT ON THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE NINETEEN SIXTIES AND NINETEEN SEVENTIES. ANOTHER AMERICAN SCHOLAR, PROFESSOR WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN -- DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN -- SUGGESTS THAT THE YUGOSLAV-SOVIET BREAK ON JUNE TWENTY-EIGHTH, NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT, GAVE THE WORLD A "FORETASTE" OF THE PROBLEMS THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE IN HOLDING TOGETHER A SYSTEM OF COMMUNIST-DOMINATED STATES...

TAPE: CUT THREE -- ZIMMERMAN

"THE SPLIT WAS IN MANY WAYS A PRECURSOR TO THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT AND OCCURRED IN MANY WAYS FOR MANY OF THE SAME REASONS THAT THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT OCCURRED -- NAMELY THE YUGOSLAVS HAD MORE OR LESS IMITATED THE SOVIETS BY COMING TO POWER MOSTLY ON THEIR OWN, BY HAVING A CHARISMATIC LEADER, BY HAVING A THOROUGHLY COHESIVE PARTY, A VERY EFFICIENT SECRET POLICE AND BY MOBILIZING THE SOCIETY AND NATIONALIZING MOST OF THE ECONOMY. GIVEN THAT THEY HAD DONE ALL THAT, GIVEN THAT THEY HAD IN THAT SENSE IMITATED THE SOVIET UNION, IT TURNED OUT TO BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO BRING TITO TO HEEL."

NARR:

THE TITO-STALIN BREAK, PROFESSOR ZIMMERMAN RECALLS, CAME LESS THAN THREE YEARS AFTER THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO WHEN THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY WAS STILL ENJOYING THE NATIONAL POWER WON DURING THAT CONFLICT:

TAPE: CUT FOUR -- ZIMMERMAN

"THEY HAD FOUGHT THE GERMANS, THEY HAD UNITED THE COUNTRY. THEY FELT THEY COULD WALK ON WATER. THEY WERE IN A SENSE REALLY GOOD BOLSHEVIKS WHO FELT THAT THERE WERE NO BARRIERS THAT GOOD BOLSHEVIKS COULD FAIL TO CONQUER, NOT EVEN A BARRIER PUT UP BY THE LEADING BOLSHEVIK HIMSELF, STALIN."

NARR:

THE SOVIET UNION UNDER STALIN ORCHESTRATED A STRONG POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BATTLEPLAN IN THE EAST TO BRING TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA BACK TO THE COMMUNIST FOLD. THE WEST RESPONDED IN KIND. JOHN CAMPBELL, OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, WRITES THAT "THE WEST RESPONDED FIRST WITH STOPGAP MEASURES TO PREVENT AN ECONOMIC COLLAPSE, THEN WITH A NUMBER OF TRADE AGREEMENTS, LOANS AND GRANTS AIMED AT HELPING YUGOSLAVIA. 'KEEP TITO AFLOAT,' ADDS DOCTOR CAMPBELL, "HAD BECOME A COMMON POLICY OF THE WESTERN WORLD."

AT THE SAME TIME, THE ANALYST OF EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS WRITES, "STALIN TOOK THE TITO AFFAIR AS THE SIGNAL FOR A SERIES OF PURGES." OR, AS HARVARD PROFESSOR ADAM ULAM PUTS IT, "OTHERS PAID FOR TITO'S DEFIANCE." IN HIS BIOGRAPHY OF STALIN, PROFESSOR ULAM OBSERVES THAT "ALL OVER EASTERN EUROPE COMMUNIST LEADERS WERE PURGED, SOME FOR THEIR HIDDEN SYMPATHY FOR TITO, OTHERS FOR STANDING UP, NO MATTER HOW FEEBLY FOR THEIR COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC INTERESTS AGAINST SOVIET EXPLOITATION."

NOW , LOOKING BACK IN RETROSPECT AT THE TITO-STALIN BREAK, PROFESSOR ULAM SUGGESTS THAT WHAT WAS NOT FORESEEN AT THE TIME OF THE BREAK WAS THE "ADJUSTMENT" HE SAYS THE SOVIET UNION WOULD EVENTUALLY TRY TO MAKE TO THE NEW SITUATION...INCLUDING ATTEMPTS TO "WOO TITO." PROFESSOR ULAM SAYS THAT ALSO IN THE WAKE OF

THE SPLIT, THE SOVIET UNION NOW NO LONGER "SUPERVISES" THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST STATES AS CLOSELY AS IT DID UNDER STALIN.

PROFESSOR ALVIN RUBINSTEIN AGREES:

TAPE: CUT FIVE -- RUBINSTEIN

"THE RIFT SHOWED THE POST-STALIN GENERATION OF LEADERS IN EASTERN EUROPE THE LIMITS OF SOVIET CONTROL. AND IT PROBABLY HEIGHTENED THEIR OWN AWARENESS OF THE CONSTRAINTS ON WHAT MOSCOW COULD DO IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH AND IMPOSE ITS OWN AUTHORITY OVER COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EASTERN EUROPE."

NARR:

THE NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT BREAK, ADDS PROFESSOR RUBINSTEIN, ALSO CHANGED THE WESTERN ASSUMPTION THAT MOSCOW EXERCISED COMPLETE AUTHORITY OVER ALL FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES...

TAPE: CUT SIX -- RUBINSTEIN

"THE YUGOSLAV BREAK SHOWED THAT THIS WAS NOT AT ALL CORRECT. ONE CAN SAY THAT IT BEGAN THE PROCESS OF IDEOLOGICAL REVISION IN THE WEST IN TERMS OF ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT AUTHORITY WITHIN THE SOVIET BLOC MEANT. WE CAME, I THINK, TO UNDERSTAND MORE AND MORE THAT THE AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY TO FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES IS INCREASINGLY ONE OF VOLUNTARISM AND NOT OF COERCION. AND THAT IN THE CASE OF SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS IT WAS ONLY THE PRESENCE OF THE RED ARMY THAT COULD GUARANTEE ULTIMATE SOVIET CONTROL."

NARR:

THERE IS A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE IN THIS WAY, SAYS POLITICAL SCIENTIST WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN...

TAPE: CUT SEVEN -- ZIMMERMAN

"I DO THINK THAT THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE ITALIAN AND OBVIOUSLY THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY, HAVE BECOME DOMESTIC PRODUCTS -- THAT IS TO SAY, PRODUCTS OF THEIR OWN ENVIRONMENT RATHER THAN OF THE SOVIET ENVIRONMENT -- IS VERY ANALOGOUS TO THE YUGOSLAV SITUATION."

NARR:

THERE IS NO OBVIOUSLY WAY THE SOVIET UNION HAS IMMENSE LEVERAGE OVER THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, SAYS PROFESSOR WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN. AND IN THAT SENSE, HE ADDS, THE

SOVIET UNION IS OBLIGED TO LIVE WITH THAT KIND OF A REALITY. IT
IS PART OF THE LEGACY OF AN EVENT OF JUNE TWENTY-EIGHTH,
NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT THAT WOULD HAVE FAR REACHING EFFECTS....EFFECTS
STILL BEING FELT NOW, THIRTY YEARS LATER.

GH/PY